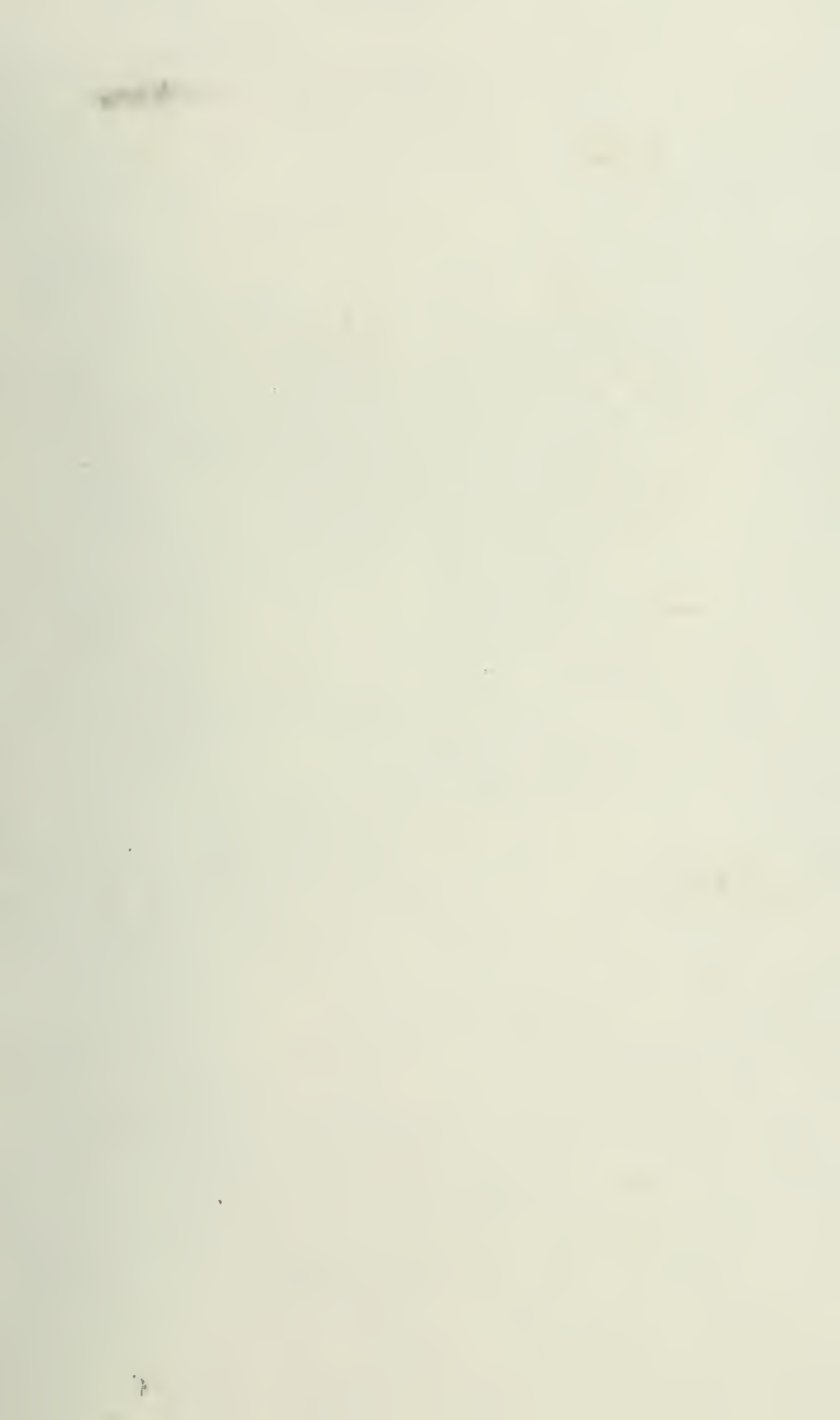




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CONTINUATION

Presented to Mrs. Lattin by the author

OF THE

*Test of his knowledge in the English
Language.*

STATE OF FRANCE.

By the COUNT DE MONTGAILLARD.

- - - - - *Lamentabile regnum*
Eruerint Danaï, quæque ipse miserrima vidi.

VIRG.

Translated by Monsieur de L. B***, Knight of Malta,
French Emigrant.

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[1794?]

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THE AUTHOR's PREFACE

THE favourable reception which a pamphlet under the title of "*The State of France in the month of May, 1794*" has met with from the public, the numerous disputes to which it has given birth, and the various questions which have been asked me in consequence of it, have made me sensible of the necessity of adding some farther details to those I have already published, and I consider it as a duty incumbent on me to do so.

I shall not employ my time either in explaining or refuting those contradictions, as absurd in themselves as they are ungrounded, which some treacherous translators have been desirous of discovering in the first part of that work; when a person does not understand, or wilfully mistakes the French language; when he joins incomplete scraps of one phrase with the

A

disjointed members of another ; when he changes the expressions or perverts their meaning ; it is as easy for such a man as it is contemptible in him, to find apparent contradictions even in truth itself. Indeed those men who pretend that the epithets of *villain, assassin, and tyrant*, which are only synonymous terms to a *deputy of the National Convention*, are not suitable to the persons who now govern France, must be endued with as strong an inclination to favour the commission of crimes, as they feel love for the propagation of falsehoods. As the translator of " The State of France " has so far paid respect to truth, in having declared to the public that I have no acquaintance with him, I shall pay no attention either to his criticisms or his observations.

There are some further explanations and details which have been requested of me by persons whose opinions and talents I respect, and I flatter myself that they will find them in the course of this publication.

I shall return no answer to that piece of criticism, the more perfidious as it puts on the mask of moderation, which is contained in a pamphlet intituled "*Rassurez Vous*," but I must observe to the author of it, that the title of his work is alone sufficient to prove that he and I have quite a different manner of viewing the political situation of Europe. Perhaps there never existed a crisis so dangerous as the present, to entertain flattering prospects of security. I have therefore laboured to point out the perils which menace the people of all other nations. In speaking of the means of destruction that are in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, I have not concealed that those means are formidable, but I have said at the same time that the resources of the allies are still more powerful. To preserve peace upon the earth, I have said that it is necessary to exterminate the Jacobins of France; and I now add, that that man is an enemy to human society, who can prevail with himself "to be

at ease" before that fortunate moment has arrived.

I do not doubt but that the author, with the aid of unfair comparisons between my different phrases and some artful suppressions of their sense, will be able to find in this second work of mine, ample materials on which he may exercise his critical abilities; for I do not cease to repeat an opinion generally received in Fance, that the inhabitants of la Vendee would still obtain great successes, if speedy succours and the presence of one of the French princes were granted to them; and this opinion is not agreeable to the taste of the author who wrote the pamphlet called " Rassures vous." Not contented to find nothing but absurdities in my first work, that author, in general ill-informed, is so unfair as to impute to me all those contradictions which the French revolution produces every day, those which the conduct of the Jacobins exhibit, and even those of which the people of France are susceptible, and then he combats my publication on that ground. I shall briefly

observe to him, that all the events which have happened in France during the space of the last five years, are a proof of what I have advanced; and that if he had read, or was willing to recall to his mind, the printed debates of the Jacobins, he would be convinced that the impostures which he has the malevolence to pretend that I place in their mouths, are interwoven with the reports in the journals of their sittings; and lastly, that he ought not to be ignorant that the bulk of the people of every nation, and in all ages, have believed the most contradictory and absurd things imaginable.

As to the bad intentions which that author has attributed to me with so much ill-nature, I should have thought myself bound to reply to the charge, if he had been pleased to offer even the shadow of a proof of their existence, or condescended to give his own name to the public, as a pledge for the truth of what he asserts. The only observation that I shall make to him on that head is, that no motive, except that of being useful to the common cause, in-

fluenced my determination to publish ; and, less unjust than himself, I should have allowed him the same good intentions in his criticism, which is so *mildly calumniating*, if he had not concealed his name, which, in literature, is a circumstance that renders every sort of reply unnecessary.

As to those men whose hypocritical friendship, or perfidious self-interest, have hoped to find in my never-ceasing desire of serving my king and country the means of injuring me ; and as to those intriguing men who, displaying in my presence a great degree of importance, which they wish to have, but do not possess, have attempted to flatter my vanity, while they were wounding my reputation, by paying me great encomiums to my face, at the same time that they were propagating a report that I was not the author of the publication that bears my name, I freely own that they have great reason to put on the appearance of being my friends, and to be my secret enemies. It is to the firmness with which I shall always repel their principles that I am indebted for their detestation. Their hatred

has attributed to me maxims that I never held; it has spread abroad in my name much information on the affairs of France, to which I am an entire stranger; they have invented reports for me, of which I am not the author; and, joining absurdity to calumny, ~~they have~~ laboured to put a bad construction on my silence, when ~~they were~~ no longer able to pervert my words. I am well aware that the hatred of those men will never pardon my refusal to insert, in my first pamphlet, those views of peace, favourable without doubt to their ambition, but which sound policy and the safety of kingdoms equally forbids. ~~they~~ will have still greater difficulty to forget, that, insensible to all private considerations, I refused to assert that the French people, already made so unhappy, still entertain an unalterable love for the constitution of 1789, which has no worshippers but in the hearts of its first authors.

I have said that the French people, intoxicated with all those notions of its sovereignty, to which their first legislators had condemned them, had preserved those ideas

till the end of last year. It was at that period the tyranny of the Convention made the people fully sensible how fallacious those notions were which had been instilled into them by the National Assembly. When the armies of the Federalists opposed the progress of the Royalists in la Vendee, they kept in suspense the hopes and self-love of the neighbouring departments, and ten different parties, which burst forth at that time, prevented the people from uniting themselves to the only one, which they now regret they did not embrace. The Convention has destroyed the factions which were born in its bosom, and an excess of misery has opened the eyes of the French people towards the first consitution which gave them birth. They now openly attribute to it all their wretchedness and slavery ; and, if we except the vanity of a few Bôurgeois in Paris, the general opinion is so loud in this respect, that the nation plainly prefers the ancient system to the contitution of 1789. This is what I will never cease to declare, because it is the real truth. Such a declaration may expose

me to new calumnies ; but, priding myself in personal injuries derived from that source, I shall endeavour to draw from it fresh courage and new motives, to make public all those truths that will promote the common cause, being fully determined never to abandon the interest of my King.



CONTINUATION
OF THE
STATE OF FRANCE.

IN a late publication I made known to the world the manner in which the present government of France had organized its tyranny: but in a small pamphlet written upon such an enormous mass of villainy, I was only able just to name a vast variety of measures which contributed towards its success. It is however necessary to develop those measures, in order to understand the real state of that unhappy kingdom, and what are the resources which still remain to the persons who have ruined it. I now proceed to explain them with accuracy and fidelity.

I delivered it as my opinion, that the Committee of Public Safety had not the means of supporting the war for two years

longer, and that it flattered itself with the hopes of being able to force the allied powers to conclude a peace in the course of the ensuing winter. In the month of March the Committee had not the most distant expectation of meeting with that success, which the armies of France have lately obtained. All its hopes were founded on the allies being wearied out, or on the exhausted state of their finances. Some confidence, indeed, it placed in their ignorance; and still more in their divisions. It made no ceremony in openly avowing both the treasons and secret agents with which it endeavoured to surround the allies on all sides. All its proposals for peace were rejected in Italy, and could not even gain admission into Germany. This Committee saw the coalesced powers advancing towards the capital of the republic, at the same time that formidable enemies were seconding their views in its very bosom. It feared that an excess of despair and tyranny would in the end produce a great and general insurrection of the people. It was constantly sending a multitude of victims to the scaf-

fold, and crowds of soldiers to the different armies; on one side it drew back their magazines of arms and provisions as far as the walls of Peronne and Compiègne, while on the other it formed those plans of invasion, the success of which has surpassed their most sanguine expectations and usual good fortune. Its principal object was to make a long and considerable diversion in those provinces, where they have now been so fortunate as to obtain numerous triumphs and plenty of provisions.

The sanguinary reins of the revolutionary government were on the point of falling from the hands of the Committee of Public Safety. A general cry was heard throughout Paris, and in all the departments; "that the Convention ought to go in a mass to the armies, that it ought to march at their head, and then we will follow them to the frontiers." Such was the language that weariness and discontent, under the colour of civism, held even in the sittings of the assembly itself.

Eleven deputies, seven generals, and the chiefs of the War-office, of the Revo-

lutionary Tribunal, and of the Commune of Paris, died upon the scaffold. The people while they trembled, applauded those punishments, and the Convention was obedient to Robespierre in all things. Being absolute master over the law, and of the public force, he precipitates his armies and his brigands upon all the West Flanders; those fine provinces are captured, and the colours of the tyrant float on the banks of the Rhine and the Scheldt. The frontiers of Holland become those of France, and in three months he ruins every thing the allies had done in the course of three years.

Without examining into the causes of the success of the Committee of Public Safety, I shall endeavour to make known its powers, its crimes, and its fears.

All real authority resides essentially in the breast of this committee, while that of Surety General only receives and executes its orders. It acquired the supreme power immediately after the destruction of the Brisotines, and the annihilation of their Committee of Twelve. This supremacy has

been acknowledged, and has never been contested since the accusation brought against the party of Chabot and Bazire, and the renewal of the Committee of General Surety, which had at that time a decisive influence over the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly. Since that period the Committee of General Surety hath made only feeble attempts to regain its power: It now obeys without reserve the Committee of Public Safety, which renews, deposes, or accuses its members; and whose decrees have as yet experienced no contradiction of any importance on the part of the convention itself.

The number of unhappy and prescribed Frenchmen who are thrown into dungeons by orders proceeding from the Committee of General Surety, the different provinces that inflict punishments and reward informations according to its decrees, and the immense labour which is required to make the report of so many assassinations and forgeries, might easily mislead a distant and ill-informed observer, and make him adopt a contrary opinion; the great

importance which this Committee has acquired, and the necessity which preserves it, might make him believe that it possessed a share in the supreme power of committing crimes; but it is, notwithstanding all these appearances, only an instrument in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, and there is not one of its members who is not fearful of falling a victim to it. The first title of the new revolutionary code leaves no doubt respecting the nature and extent of the powers vested in the Committee of General Surety, and the events which took place in the course of seven months, clearly prove its entire submission to that of Public Safety at the time I left France.

I have said that 850,000 effective men were fighting under the banners of the Convention. Between Huningue and Dunkirk 360,000 are stationed; upon the coasts of the Atlantic, and in la Vendee there are 110,000; and along the borders of the Mediterranean there are 50,000; the army of the Alps is composed of 80,000 men; the armies of the Pyrenees

and the South contain 90,000 ; about 35,000 men are stationed at Compiègne in the Orleanois, and in the pays chartrain. This last force seems to be kept there for the security of the Convention. It guarantees to it the submission of the 26 districts which are in the neighbourhood of Paris, and secures the execution of the requisitions of urgency. The remaining 130,000 are spread over the various departments, and incorporated among the national guards.

By far the greater part of this interior force is not armed. In almost all the towns the duty is performed with pikes and lances. Each day the sections of Paris are invited to send their fusées to the armies ; and it was with extreme difficulty that the Committee was able last year to arm one half of the citizens of the first requisition. It made the most arbitrary summonses ; it concluded the most disadvantageous bargains ; and it established in Switzerland a credit for 36 millions of livres in ready money to pay their purchases.

The sum total of all the men who have been inlisted, or put in requisition, since the first of January 1792, including the old army, such as it existed at that time, and of which scarcely a fourth part now remains, amounts to 1,778,000. Of these, 119,000 never joined their colours, and about 53,000 have deserted them; about 167,000 have died in the military hospitals; and 610,000 have either been killed by the enemy or made prisoners. The military commissions, or the revolutionary tribunals, have condemned 1660 to death.

In the enumeration of the above forces, 103,000 men were furnished by the city of Paris; of which 43,000 were sent to the plains of Châlons, and only 28,000 have returned to their habitations. Since that period, and in the space of eighteen months, there has gone out of Paris 31 legions (of which number 17 were cavalry) each consisting of 1000 men. Three levies produced (either voluntarily, or by the terror which preceded them) 25,500 men, who were sent successively into la

Vendée. It cost the convention 63 millions of livres to carry in coaches, wag-gons, and carts, about 13,000 men of those levies into the provinces of Anjou and Poitou with an unexampled rapidity. The first requisition produced in the capital about 28,600 men; but a fifth part of that number was lost by desertion, exemptions, or bribes.

Paris is perhaps unable to renew such vast sacrifices; that city has lost 56,200 men; and in one section only of it about 2,164 have perished. Nearly 6000 men, who had set out from the capital, returned back again in defiance of the severest prohibitions. Nothing could prevail with them to make them join the army; and numbers have mutilated themselves rather than be compelled to march.

The allied powers have therefore to fight against 560,000 effective men. In this number the cavalry are included, which consists of from 50,000 to 55,000 persons. It is in general ill-mounted, and still worse supported. To provide the cavalry with sabres, all citizens were ordered, under

pain of the severest penalties, to bring in their swords, which were more than 27 inches in length, to their respective municipalities. The levy of a single horse and man in each of the communes, which was decreed in the month of September last, could not be completed in the space of five months, notwithstanding the charge was entrusted to thirty-five representatives of the people, who constantly enforced it by their presence. That levy only produced 18,600 horsemen throughout the whole extent of France. There is now no cavalry in the interior parts of the kingdom. Paris only contains 900 horsemen, who are destined to escort the victims to the scaffold, and are reserved as a guard and for the service of the Convention and different tribunals. The views of these gendarmes are extremely bad, and their force is entirely devoted to the will of the Committee of Public Safety.

The troops of the Republic are in general ill-clothed, but well fed. Their pay is greater than that of any other soldiers in Europe. The appointments of the Generals

and Officers are excessive, and the greater part of them commit the most violent exactions. The soldiers are in want of many articles that are necessary for a campaign, but particularly linen and leather. Continual diseases, produced by forced marches and unbounded debauchery and intemperance, make the most dreadful havock among them. In general, they are treated with little or no care in the numerous hospitals; that are established in the interior of the country. About 33,000 men, out of the first requisition, died in them within the space of five weeks. These poor creatures had been sent to the armies, the fortified towns, and to the sea coasts, without either shoes or shirts, and a considerable number of them left their fire-sides quite naked. The requisitionary soldiers, on all the roads where they passed, committed great devastations, which no power could stop. They imposed laws upon the constituted authorities; they exacted and obtained 45 sous a day, from the time of their enrolment to the end of their journey; and they arrived at their respective destinations

separately, and almost at their own will and pleasure. To prevail with them to set out, it was necessary to assure them that they should be kept for the interior service of the kingdom, and that they should not be employed on the frontiers, till after they had passed a whole year in exercise and encampment. They soon sold their accoutrements, and demanded of the Convention, in the name of force and civism, the replacement of them. The greater part of them declared loudly, even in the streets of Paris, that if they were forced to fight, they would desert, without the smallest hesitation, to the enemy's colours.

The dress and entire equipment of a foot soldier costs 360 livres, and that of a dragoon 1450. The great difficulty there is in completing the clothing has obliged the Convention to allow the troops of the line to wear their old uniforms, which policy and the system of equality had prohibited. The nation pays the expence of the equipments. Neither the volunteer nor the requisitionary soldier begins his march, till he has received, as a bounty, the sum of

about 200 livres. This money is forced from the rich, and imposed upon the affluent citizens by the committees and municipalities.

There is no military discipline in the armies of the Convention; they have none of that passive obedience, that blind execution of orders, and that thirst of glory which constitute the strength and harmony of the allied armies. The systems of Equality and Robbery reign in all the fortified towns, in the camps, and in the armies of France. All the Generals, from Dumourier to that of Pichegru, whose conquests have reduced the glory of the former and his six months of success to their just value, have taken the titles of "Generals of Sans-Culottes;" and they are so in reality. But what respect or confidence can such a succession of Generals and Officers inspire the breasts of common soldiers with! Men who, for the most part, are chosen to this high station from the lowest and most infamous class of the people, and are a prey to every species of vice and poverty; men of contemptible characters, quitting the sittings of a club to go to the war-office to re-

ceive the brevets of generals. These commanders make their appearance at the armies, where they encourage and share in pillage, and in the space of six months afterwards they die upon the scaffold. The soldiers obey their generals on the day of battle, but it is the representatives of the people who artfully secure that obedience, always wavering and uncertain. Out of the field of battle, they intimidate, blame, and denounce their officers. There is scarcely any of them whose dismissal has not been demanded and obtained by the soldiers. It is only with all the caution of weakness that crimes purely military are punished. When the tribunals inflict these punishments, they are almost always obliged to add to each accusation that of an intention to bring about a counter-revolution, in order to prevent murmurings, or a revolt among the soldiers.

The discipline however, during the space of the last five months is become more exact and severe, because the French armies are every day less directed by their generals and officers. The continual presence

of the representatives of the people at the armies, makes them more dependant on the Convention, and it saves that assembly from those dangers to which it was on the point of falling a victim, by the desertion of some of its generals. This Convention has not forgotten that it would never have existed, if that man who has so constantly avoided true glory to court the applauses of the people, if that silly general who always rather obeyed than commanded his soldiers, in short, if Monsieur de La Fayette, who was as culpable as any great villain, had possessed the courage of a man of that description.

The National Convention will never forget that Dumourier dictated laws to it, and that it would have been dissolved for ever, if that intriguing soldier had done what he ought and could have accomplished, or if he had even known precisely the objects of his own ambition. For these reasons that great epoch of the revolution, which ought to have been so destructive to the villains that now govern France, is become the period of the most atrocious tyranny; thus

the name of Dumourier is made in France a pretext to cover every charge of treason, and the motive of an endless number of accusations. We see him now in another quarter tormenting fame to exert herself in his favour, and searching to disturb that repose which she leaves him to enjoy at his leisure.

There is every reason to believe that the French armies will be no longer addicted to that species of pillage which has hitherto animated their soldiers, as that employment is reserved for the Convention. The soldiers take possession of a country, and the Convention robs and plunders it. It is the law, or rather the spirit of the revolution, that ought to preside over that great deprivation of property, which like a fire will extend its ravages in all directions where it shall be able to advance; and if it were possible to despair of preserving the safety of Europe, and to believe that the French republic would gain new successes; if its armies and principles should take possession of Holland and keep it, then the National Convention would think itself

powerful enough to execute all its projects of ambition; then it would dare to think itself sure of universal dominion, that is to say, certain of the devastation of all the nations on the earth.

We have seen in what manner the extreme watchfulness and numerous commissaries of the Committee of Public Safety will in future render difficult both those treasons of the generals, and those great desertions in their armies, which have so long threatened the Convention with ruin. The number of deserters is even less considerable than could possibly be expected, and the principal reasons of it are some opinions which the agents of tyranny endeavour to spread and keep up throughout the armies.

On all sides they labour to persuade the requisitionary soldiers, that they ought not to expect any protection from the allied powers, that they will send them to the farthestmost parts of their dominions, where they will be employed in forced labour, and deprived of all the means of subsistence; that their ancient

officers and lords will not favourably receive either their repentance or their services; that they will be every where separated from the rest of the people, and every where covered with disgrace; and that all those who have already betrayed their country are daily expiring in the mines, in the prisons, or under the most ignominious labours.

The manner in which the French soldiers are assured in their different camps that their old officers are treated, even by the belligerent powers, makes them dread a neglect still more destructive, and forces them to fight under colours which many of them would certainly abandon if, more enlightened with regard to the true intentions of the allies, they were persuaded they should find on the frontiers an oblivion of their former errors, a pardon for their faults, and some moderate and generous Frenchman to range them under the standard of their king. I have seen the most unabating efforts employed to perpetuate those prejudices against the allies which I have now mentioned. There is

no section nor popular society where those calumnies are not made every week the order of the day : so necessary do those impostures appear to calm the fears and support the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety:

It was worthy of the English government to destroy those false reports respecting the intentions of the allies, to pacify the fears, and realize the hopes, of the French nation ; which it has accomplished, by forming those legions of Frenchmen who are now going to display on the frontiers the white flag, an ensign that will be considered as the best and noblest proclamation of its views, and is the only one that the tyrants who now oppress France cannot conceal from the soldiers.

Such as I have mentioned above were the dispositions and fears that were prevalent in all the thirteen armies of the Convention, such was their discipline, and such was the number of their troops on the 15th of April last, according to the most accurate accounts of the different committees. I do not believe that more

than 50,000 men have been added to their numbers since that time.

I shall now proceed to examine what are the additional forces that the Convention can still make to its armies, and what are the further resources which the Committee of Public Safety still hopes to derive from the requisitions.

All French citizens, both single and married men without children, have been divided into four classes, and made subservient to four different requisitions. The first class contains all those from 18 to 25 years of age; the second, those from 25 to 35 years old; the third, those from 35 to 45; and the fourth, the citizens from 45 to 60 years of age.

The first requisition is now exhausted. It ought to have produced throughout all France 836,000 men; but more than a sixth part of that number was lost, either by desertion or by persons changing their occupations and places of abode. Those departments that were in a state of insurrection against the Convention, caused a deficit of about 45,000 men. Besides,

every person that belonged to the class of Noblesse in that tyrannical enrolment was struck out of the list, and, four months before had been decreed incapable of holding all military and civil employments, except a few individuals whose talents and crimes have merited a shameful exception to the general law that was made against the nobility and clergy. That levy produced murmurs, it excited insurrections, and it caused about 25,000 men to desert to the revolted departments. A considerable part of that requisition is not yet armed, although the Convention has granted 286,000,000 of livres to form them into armies, and to discharge their pay only to the moment of their beginning to march against the enemy. It is reckoned that the second requisition would produce 480,000 men; it is calculated that the third would raise about 630,000; and the fourth, about 370,000; but in the two last, all the married men, not having more than one or two children, are included. The surveys, sent by all the municipalities to the Committees of War and

Public Safety, in the months of December and January last, leave no doubt in regard to the exactness of the foregoing computations. There was an intention, in the month of March, to call for the second requisition, and keep it in reserve for the purpose of recruiting the armies, and for the interior service : but it was dreaded that such a measure might cause an insurrection of the people, and the Committee of Public Safety dared not to propose the decree. Indeed the Committee, some time after, was obliged to declare, that the report which had been spread abroad respecting such an intention was false. At present, however, it is much to be dreaded, that, with the aid of that general terror which the innumerable executions have caused, the Committee might be able to carry into execution, at least in part, the decree which shall order the levy to be made. It is the general received opinion in France, that this second requisition would not in reality produce more than 250,000 men ; because most of the fortified towns have already furnished all the men, even those

who are married, that they contain. Besides, eight of the departments, in the centre and west of the kingdom, have suffered so much from the incursions of la Vendee, that the produce in them would be almost nothing: and in fourteen of the departments of the east, south, and north, one half of the citizens, to the age of 40 years, has already been obliged to march. Thus one may believe, without the fear of making any material error, that two fifths of the second requisition have been unknowingly, though actually levied. In the supposition that the tyrants should exact the rest of it, the horrid decree could hardly be compleated before the month of January; and it is not probable that the whole of this force could be equipped, armed, and put in action, sooner than the month of July next.

The third and fourth requisitions may be considered as all the remaining part of the general mass of the kingdom; for, supposing such decrees to be made, every man must march, and there would then

remain in France only the children, the old men, the women, and the prisoners.

Can it be supposed that the inhabitants of all the towns will go in a mass to the frontiers? Can it be supposed that they will march in a mass against one or more of the coalèsced powers? I dare affirm that the allies ought to wish for such a measure, but that it will never be adopted. Without doubt many of the towns would put themselves in motion ; without doubt, the dread of famine and punishment would make them march for a short time : but there is every reason to believe that it would be of no great service to the cause of the republic, and that it would be attended with real danger to the Convention, and be made in that disorder inseparable from an undertaking so enormous. It could only be in the last extremity that the Committee of Public Safety would employ this resource ; the inefficacy, embarassment, and danger of which it knows. The Committee dreads all great meetings of the people ; and it was not able to conceal the alarms

which the requisitionary troops of Paris had caused it before they left the capital. It was obliged to renew six times the order for them to depart, and to make that force which threatened its sovereignty march out of the town by different roads, and in small companies.

A general levy would require such a considerable quantity of military stores, and magazines so immense ; it would demand such a concurrence of inclinations, and so perfect an union of designs, and so many submissions and sacrifices, that such a project could only flow from the extreme folly of the human brain. It could only be the offspring of the madness of tyranny ; and in that madness it would find its grave the moment it was born. For the spirit of weariness is so extreme throughout the whole extent of France, that the decree of a general levy would infallibly produce a general insurrection of the people. Every person in that kingdom is so convinced that such a result would be the necessary consequence of it ; and the Committee of Public Safety was itself persuaded, about

four months ago, that it could not stand against the discontent which the third requisition would cause if attempted to be put in execution with rigour.

There is not a single family in France that has not the death of a victim to lament, or to fear for the fate of a prisoner. There is not a family which has not already furnished at least one requisitionary man either for the armies or the military conveyances. There is not one where dissatisfaction is not at its highest pitch. The Convention flatters itself with the hopes of being able to terrify all Europe. To obtain peace, it wishes to make the nations dread such an inundation of barbarians as formerly overwhelmed the Roman empire. But supposing that more patience exists in the slavery of the people, than villainy in the tyranny of their rulers, to make them support such measures, it appears almost certain, from many considerations, that it would be impossible for the Committee of Public Safety to make march, and especially to arm, more than 500,000 additional men throughout the whole extent of France;

and that it could not add more than 260,000 men to the forces which compose its armies, before the space of one year, at least that it could not send to the frontiers more than 120,000 additional troops before the month of December next.

To give a just idea of the effect which these levies in mass produce, I shall relate the following facts. In the month of July last 15 districts and 19 towns were summoned to march against the inhabitants of la Vendee; about 230,000 men left their habitations, and began to advance on the banks of the Loire. A third part of this mass were missing before the end of the second day's journey; only one half of them arrived at Tours; and not more than 48,000 of them could be compelled, by all the means of seduction and violence, to serve through a campaign of 17 days. Not a twelfth part of this mass was completely armed. About 19,000 of them perished by disease, without obtaining any advantage over the Royalists; nearly 28,000 were killed by them; and 7,000 at least deserted. It was however necessary

for them to march, or to be exposed to the most cruel treatment; and the different towns were declared responsible for the conduct of their inhabitants. Those unhappy wretches returned to their fire-sides in defiance of all the commissaries belonging to the executive power, and carried with them the greatest terror of the Royalists, and the most sincere hatred against the Convention.

I dare affirm that a levy in mass would produce, even at this present time, a result more fortunate for the allied powers, than the one I have just mentioned was favourable to la Vendee. Such an assertion will appear to be well founded, when it is considered that the project of a levy in mass was debated last winter for three whole months in five different committees of the Convention, and was rejected by so great a majority, that it is more than probable the proposal will never be renewed, and still more so that it will never be decreed.

But the Convention flatters itself with the hopes of being able to stop the allies at every step of their march into France.

Almost all the towns in the interior, whose population exceeds 15,000 persons, and those on the frontiers that contain more than 4000, have been declared by the orders of the representatives of the people strong places ; and their tyrannical ignorance has believed that they are become so at the sound of their voice. Immense sums of money have been destined to the most ridiculous fortifications, and the women and children have been condemned to labour at them. All the little towns of Artois, Flanders, and Picardy, have been fenced with palisades ; and a profusion of redoubts have been constructed in all parts of the kingdom, without any judgment. The canal of St. Omer has been fortified, by lines extending from that town to Aire. Peronne has been covered with outworks, and Compiègne has been surrounded with an intrenched camp, where a considerable park of heavy artillery has been established. Works have been ordered to be thrown up before Nantes, Chartres, and Beauvais ; at Rheims, Soissons, and Laon : Saumur, Angers, Tours, and Orleans have been de-

clared to be in a state of siege during the space of a year ; and all the bridges of the Loire have had mines dug under them. Every little town in the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Poitou has been fortified. There is no village of any consideration, even in the interior and quiet provinces, that has not a military commander and ditches drawn round it. The heights of Paris are overloaded with works, but such as would scarcely protect the Convention against an insurrection of any neighbouring villages. St. Denis, that city so culpable in the eyes of the Republic, for having so long preserved the sacred remains of the kings of France, and for not having delivering them up but by compulsion, is made the military deposit of the revolution and its principal hospital. It is there that all the contractors for the army make those bargains, the immense gain of which never fails to conduct them to a speedy death. All those absurd precautions suggested by fear, and whose number is still augmented in the journals of the Convention, is no de-

fence against their own fears, nor against the sarcasms of the nation.

The people turn into ridicule the work of their own hands ; and they know, as well as the tyrants who pay them, that the real force of the Republic is at the frontiers, and that all its weakness is at the barriers of the capital ; they know that there is not a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition for the men, and that the demands which are made by the different towns daily experience a refusal of arms, and an eulogium on their patriotism. The Committee of Public Safety is constantly directing its views towards the annihilation of the debts, and the agrarian laws respecting the national property. The Committees of Agriculture and Legislation are perpetually adding new articles to the code destined to consolidate their territorial conquests ; a code which violates the laws that have been held sacred by the customs of all nations, the good faith of all contracts, and the rights of private property, which have been established for ages. Cambaceres, the author of it, excited the wonder even of his colleagues,

by the spirit of immorality which that code breathes. Thus it became, without opposition, the fundamental law of property through all the French Republic. The regulations that were made, about five months ago, by three committees, fix the greatest extent of a farm at 80 acres, and that no family can possess or cultivate more than the extent of a single farm, and that the greatest personal property arising from industry should not exceed 100,000 livres. An yearly rent of 10,000 livres has been made the maximum of private fortune. The above regulations are not to be converted into decrees, till the survey of all the French territory, its being registered in the great book, and the spoils of all those individuals, whose property and titles it has been resolved to invade, shall have put in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety the means of creating to themselves, by gratuitous concessions, a heap of partizans capable of standing against the discontent of the labourers, the farmers, and the ancient proprietors. The villainy of the tyrants goes so far in this odious foresight,

that they sell the estates of the emigrants in large portions, in defiance of their own laws, which fix the lots at five acres each; and they do it with a view that the Convention may soon again, and without danger, take possession of these same estates, the purchasers of which will have their lives and fortunes to defend at the same time. And thus, with the exception of a few acres near Paris, which have been divided among some of the most revolutionary communes, they have always sold the national estates in considerable lots.

The Republic does not derive from those estates the great sums which their value seems to promise; for many of the great properties have been laid waste, and the most shocking species of plunder has been every where exercised. The forests are cut down, and all moveable goods are sold for trifling sums. As soon as a small part of the pillage enters into the coffers of the districts, the administrators divide it among themselves. The whole surface of France is deluged with auctions, and with avaricious and treacherous commissioners. These

are plunged into prison, and are replaced by other commissioners, who immediately possess themselves of the booty, and are soon robbed of it by a new succession. From one end of the kingdom to the other, there is a contest between the administrators and deputies of the National Convention who shall plunder most; and both abandon themselves to the most scandalous debaucheries. The most precious moveables become the prey of the most greedy brigands; and the spoils of the royal palaces are crowded in heaps in the apartments of the Committees of the Thuilleries, in the offices of the administrative bodies, and in those hôtels which the deputies buy with the substance of the people, and under a fictitious name.

Versailles, that city which betrayed all the virtues and favours of its king, and all the arts, is now left without a palace, and almost without inhabitants. Its department and the popular societies daily destroy its château. Its beautiful avenues of trees are cut down, the leads are carried away, and a part of its magnificent iron gates is broken

in pieces. The paintings, which were the admiration of Europe, have perished. Those marble statues, which look as if they had been moulded by the hands of love, and those of bronze, in which victory and Louis the Fourteenth appear to breathe, are the only things in those gardens of nature and art, which have hitherto stood against barbarism and avarice. One might justly say that the genius of Louis the Great was so superior as not to be overcome by any species of villainy and crimes. Chantilly has preserved nothing but the glory, which the illustrious name of Condé has impressed upon it ; a name which the revolution still dreads ; a name which has been transmitted from age to age to a race of heroes, and which is still capable of creating new ones. Every thing has disappeared in that asylum of glory, pleasures, and arts ; and a vast prison remains in its stead : it has been long ago filled with prisoners who regret the absence of its virtuous and illustrious princes.

The churches and convents, the royal habitations, the palaces of the princes, all

the grand establishments of administration and commerce, the greater part of the hôtels and houses in Paris, and in almost all the towns of France, have been given up to the constituted authorities and popular societies, or consecrated to the military workshops and revolutionary institutions. All those objects, of which the Convention has been forced to make the sacrifice, have diminished in a sensible manner the value and produce of the confiscated possessions. I can venture to say, that, according to the documents furnished by the Committees of the Domains, the sum total of all the estates declared national amounted, on the first of April last, to about eight milliards of livres, and that the saleable part of these estates was valued at six milliards and two hundred million of livres, and that the debts with which they were charged, those of the clergy not included, amounted to the sum of nineteen hundred millions.

The sale of the estates of the clergy is not yet finished: that of the estates of the emigrants has been put in execution since the month of January last with much acti-

vity. Before that time it was with the greatest difficulty that purchasers could be found for any part of those lands. The Committee of Roberspierre was even obliged to send to Arras, Lille, Metz, and to thirty-three of the principal towns, large sums of money, to excite those unjust sales; but the effects of terror and conquest have now furnished it with a number of accomplices. The bulk of the people, however, places but little confidence in these acquisitions which they know are illegal. There are whole districts where the freeholders and farmers have refused to purchase what they still call an unjust deprivation. But it is to be feared that this great probity will not always stand against tyranny and self-interest.

It is useless to offer a calculation of the value of that enormous mass of property and its yearly revenue, when considered under the article of the finances of the Republic; for we may look upon the whole soil of France as belonging to the Committee of Public Safety, we may consider the executioners as the only paymasters employed by the Republic to discharge its debts, and

the capital punishments as a never failing pledge in favour of the assignats, as long as tyranny shall last. In the month of March there was eight milliards and a hundred millions of livres in assignats in circulation, and there is reason to believe that they will amount to more than ten milliards before the end of the present year. It has been calculated that the debts registered in the great national book amount to more than six milliards of livres, which makes the debt of the French Republic to amount, at the present moment, to fifteen milliards of livres at least: for we ought to include in the debt all the assignats issued out publicly, secretly, and the false ones, which cover the whole country.

One may easily conceive that the execution of so many of the public creditors necessarily diminishes the national debt; but one must not infer from the imprudence with which the Committee of Finances stated the reduction of the number of contracts, from 260,000 to 90,000, that the debt itself had undergone a proportionate diminution. Formerly an individual

had frequently twenty of these contracts in his possession. They were secured either upon the land-tax, the salt-tax, or some of the local taxes levied in the different towns and provinces, by which means a single person, possessing a multiplicity of contracts, gave the appearance of a similar number of creditors. But now all the different contracts to the same individual are consolidated into one, and registered in a large book, as one debt and under one name. The certificates of this registering a precarious kind of property, which every body is eager to get rid of; the profligate traffic of those who sell themselves to infamy; the immense profit permitted by the Republic to the agents of their crimes, and their armies still keep up in the metropolis a fluctuation of capitals, which has the air of commerce.

The assignats, more difficult to keep than to acquire, are eagerly laid out in building; and the possessors of them, lulled by that hope which dwells even in the dungeons of the Conciergerie, erect, after the most finished models of Greek and Roman archi-

teature, those three thousand houses which none of them inhabit, and which daily become the prey of the Republic. Exchange, credit, and commerce have fallen victims to tyranny and terror. It is in vain that Cambon, that weak profligate, who has usurped the dictatorship of the finance, endeavours to dispel that general suspicion and rooted mistrust which renders all his apologies superfluous. There is not a Frenchman (I again repeat it) who does not expect the loss of his assignats, of his certificates of the succours granted by the national munificence, and of his pensions, and who is not eager to offer the sacrifice of them to obtain a government capable of protecting him.

There does not exist a single crown in circulation throughout France. The copper coin, issued with the greatest profusion, disappears from the surface, to be concealed in the bowels of the earth, along with the gold and silver. Their circulation, however, is not prohibited; and when that prohibition was proposed, under pain of death, Ramel, in the name of the Committee of

Finances, observed, that, by such a law, they would only sink deeper in the earth the metals already concealed under its surface ; and yet notwithstanding the possession of a few Louis d'ors is an unavoidable subject of accusation, to which nobody dares expose himself, some times the commissioners take from the jewellers and merchants their gold, and their silver, and reimburse them with assignats, and that too at par.

All the accounts given in by the Committee of Finances are false in all their statements. The expences incurred by the Committee of Public Safety accelerate a system of dilapidation, as extraordinary and inconceivable as the tyranny and robbery which support it. No debt is really liquidated, nothing paid ; the pension of the *National Benevolence*, as well as the other payments, are above a year in arrear, in spite of the pompous impositions of Cambon in his public accounts ; so many civic formalities are established between the public treasury and the public creditor, that it requires a perseverance, as needless as it

is dangerous, to obtain at last even a part of what is due. The certificates of civism are granted only to those persons who have but inconsiderable claims on the public, and a refusal of them is almost always the signal of death.

Of all the reproaches to which the faithful picture I have drawn may be exposed, the most absurd undoubtedly is, that I have exaggerated the cruelties committed in France, by the deputies, the agents, and the satellites of the Convention. But as some persons, whose ignorance we must pity, or whose intentions we must condemn, seem to think that harsh epithets ought not to be given to those monsters who now govern France, I will tell them that the crimes of which the Jacobins have publicly avowed themselves the authors, the accomplices, or the instruments, have no longer any name, and that it is now as difficult to calumniate them as to forgive them. That they have now overleaped the barriers of conscience and remorse; that they have let loose upon the globe that mass of crimes which antiquity had chained in the infernal

regions ; and that this band of executioners called the National Convention, has left by this time human nature without excuse, and all the French, who have not fled their country, without resources, and almost without hope.

I will tell the unfaithful translator, I will tell all those who affect an ignorance of what they do not wish to know, and refuse to understand what would be disagreeable to them to acknowledge, that it is no longer possible, either for incredulity or design to avoid conviction. I will add some touches to this picture of the tyranny which has embued France in blood, and which threatens the globe itself, but I shall still fall short of the truth ; for to add to the misfortune of accuracy, that of the courage requisite in such an undertaking, it would be necessary to rob the executioner of his dreadful store of knowledge, and his long habits of ferocity : to him alone it belongs to trace out these bloody scenes.

The Committee of Public Safety has publicly declared, that all persons thrown into the prisons would be sent to the scaffold,

and perish either victims of the success of the allies, of the success of the Republic, or of the attempts of their own partisans. They endeavoured repeatedly, but in vain, to renew in Paris the massacres of the 2d of September, 1792. I have said what was the number of the prisoners, and I must say that every day increases their number; that a moderate fortune is a sufficient reason to be denounced, or rather accused; that to be the friend or relation of a person proscribed, is sufficient cause for being soon placed in the same situation; (that divorce itself cannot prevent the persecution of the agents of the Committee who continue it on account of ties which themselves have dissolved) that to be rich and virtuous is to be considered as guilty, and be sent to prison, and that to be sent to prison is to be assassinated.

Informers are not bound to declare the grounds of their accusations, nor even to tell their own names, or where they live : If the party accused be guilty, they are well paid ; but much better if he be innocent. A man is taken into custody without proof,

examined without formality, insulted by the jury, and cut off from the world, before he is sent out of it. A single enemy is sufficient to plunge a man into a dungeon; and from that moment he loses all right of retracting his charge or justifying the accused: a word, a gesture, a look, the slightest mark of disapprobation, or symptoms of probity, nay even silence itself, has, on numberless occasions, been sufficient to draw forth the indignation of the Committee of General Surety: guilt alone has any chance of acquittal; for if a man be suspected of repentance, he is suspected of INCIVISM.

Nor is it enough for a man that he be a villain; he must appear to be such; he must discourse of justice and humanity, in the language of falsehood and the accents of ferocity: it is not enough that he has murdered an enemy of the Committee; he must lift up his bloody hands in their sittings: if he lays any claim to the gratitude of the Assembly, he must present to it the head which he has cut off, and fill the cavern of the Thuileries with plunder; for the As-

sembly rewards those only who commit, or promise to commit, crimes ; and never fails to recompence her accomplices in assassination.

The old man is accused for the pleasures or the errors of his youth ; the husband for the virtue of his wife ; the father for the conduct of his children, although the law has freed them from his authority, and authorised their irregularities. There have not been wanting deputies, so lost to all sense of shame, as to have sent to the revolutionary tribunal the woman whom they have been unable to seduce.

These actions, which a member of the first Assembly was wicked enough to call *good actions*, are considered as personal only ; while those committed by an individual against the revolution are held to be general, affecting his whole family, and sometimes even his whole community. To the law is given a retrospective force, and a man is held to be a villain, merely because he was not considered to be so formerly : and as a great minister is said to have desired to have but two lines of any

man's writing, in order to convict him of any crime whatever ; so let a man possess but a single field, and a small portion of integrity, and the Convention will be sure to murder him.

I will add, that to pity a condemned person is to risk the suffering the same fate ; that it is not permitted, with impunity, to shew any degree of sensibility, although it were involuntary, even at the foot of the scaffold ; that nature is made responsible for those feelings which she herself produces ; that they must be suppressed, when a man goes into a popular society, and totally extinguished, if he would shew himself in the Revolutionary Committee ; that the father is obliged to inform against the son ; and many have been the instances wherein the son has performed the office of a bailiff or a guard in his father's house ; that throughout the whole extent of this great kingdom, there is no religion, no law, no such thing as repose, or sleep, or even a single friend to be found : Such are the presents which the destroyers of France threaten to bestow upon the globe ; such

is the fate which the Jacobins of Paris are preparing for the Jacobins of all other countries.

Merchants, shopkeepers, workmen of every description, as well as land-proprietors, are subject to the most furious persecution. Shops have been broken open, goods carried off by force from the fabric of the manufacturer, and the personal credit of individuals laid under contribution. The money'd-men and merchants have been obliged to suspend their payments, and commit acts of fraudulent bankruptcy. In vain have they sought for an asylum in pretended poverty, which, if real, is no longer suffered, in France, to derive any consolation from obscurity. Every form of jealousy and every shape of hatred have burst forth from their tombs, and overspread the country. Self-interest, immortal in its nature, and self-love, which governs with such tyrannic sway the heart of man, and is at the same time his most dangerous friend, pursue with unrelenting malice every one of those whose parts, whose talents, or whose zeal, the Committee of Public Safety has

thought proper to notice or to reward. Her tyranny destroys that industry which her pride wishes to encourage; her internal commerce is rapidly declining; and soon there will be found in France no other trade but that of printing and informing. The obligation imposed upon all merchants to declare, upon pain of death, the nature and quality of their goods, and to sell them at a fixed price, exposes them to enormous losses, if they wish to continue their trade, and to great dangers if they wish to break it off, for the agents of the Committee turn their industry or their fears equally against them.

The law of the *maximum*, which fixes the price of all sorts of goods which the Republic wants, as laid down as the basis of valuation the price which they bore in 1790, adding one third more, and an addition of the expence of carriage, computed according to the distance which the respective articles are brought from. This assessment, which is settled upon the principle of the supposed value of the goods, and the assignats being in the proportion of two to seven,

is constantly evaded by the different rates of exchange settled between the parties, inso-much that almost all objects of prime necessity are encreased three-fold in price within the space of two years. A working man cannot now maintain himself upon less than fifty sous a day ; to him victories and defeats are perfectly the same thing, and while he feels his misery he cannot but complain of his legislators ; and yet the Convention declares itself stationary in the capital, and not to be dissolved until peace shall be made ! Every day are deputies amassing immense fortunes, displaying the most insulting luxury, while the people are obliged to make daily sacrifices of their property, their time, and even their very resources ! The most profligate city in Europe beholds their depravity with astonishment. They openly caress the commonest of women, who make a trade of informations, and set up innocence to sale ; these wretches are admitted to the tables of the deputies ; they grace their triumphal chariots at the national feast, and crouch at the feet of the statues of liberty. Every thing

is become an object of purchase and of sale. Collot d'Herbois and Lindet, Amar and Guffroy, Paris and Sergent, receive in the Committees, and even from the hands of the constituted authorities, at one time the price of murder, at another that of liberty. There, as in their shops, always in the most shameful, and often in the most imprudent manner, are bargained for and sold certificates of residence or of civism, signatures and passports: There might have been seen Barrere forcing a most respectable lady to pay him a hundred thousand livres for setting her at liberty, and signing with the same hand an order for her enlargement and an order to the Revolutionary Tribunal to prosecute her again; there might have been seen Robespierre encouraging this venality, and converting it into an instrument for the destruction of those whose character he feared: thus perished l'Huillier, this assassin of the 2d of September, this chief of the department of Paris, this confidant of Robespierre, who had the courage to upbraid the dictator with those infamous robberies: thus perished Chabot, Basire,

Lacroix, Danton, de Launay, D'Angers, Fabre, &c. and thus are perishing in their turn the assassin and the victim, the plunderer and the plundered, all the co-operators in these wicked and corrupt committees.

It is not that morals, justice, humanity, and toleration have obtained no decrees in their favour; but that the more the laws prohibited licentiousness, the more it was given way to by the magistrates: For it is from the midst of these scenes of revel, which are perpetually renewed, that the representatives, the administrators, the generals, and the soldiers set out to plunder and ruin the frontiers of the provinces. An order was issued by the Commune of Paris for the confinement of those infamous women, whose conduct is a public scandal. But it remained unexecuted, like all those decrees which have a beneficial tendency. In order not to be surprised at the good measures which the Convention now and then adopts, it is necessary to know that each law is couched in dubious expressions, of which these oppressors have the secret

meaning and the spirit, whilst the oppressed have only the letter and the illusion. Good is only a pretext, of which they take advantage to effect mischief, and mischief is the latent spring of all their actions.

Let us turn to those scenes of horror and depravity, which will make posterity shudder---Let us see what Paris was during nine days.

In a moment it was changed, as it were, to a vast theatre, in which every duty and virtue that religion and morality had imposed was abandoned to an unbridled populace. The churches were stript, and every thing most sacred given up to the riotous and blasphemous outrages of those dregs of society, which for these last five years have been pouring into the capital of France, from different nations. Graves were violated, the ashes of the dead torn out, and death itself was no longer an asylum from the passions and wickedness of mankind. The relics of martyrs, sacred from the long veneration of the faithful, were mutilated at their altars. The emblems of Christianity were drawn upon

hurdles, and the very image of God himself impiously committed to the axe of the executioner. The meanest animals were covered with the robes and decorations of his sacred ministers; and the most licentious songs insulted publicly the celebration of his holy mysteries. Magistrates, by their presence, set the seal of the law to these Saturnalia, in which the howling of these canibals terrified even their own leaders. This band of tygers proceeded afterwards to the Convention. They were received into its bosom, their abominable triumph recorded on its journals, and their booty swallowed up by its Committees. Nine days such as these, which are not to be found in the annals of any age or country, were purchased by 1,550,000.

In a moment France was filled with men who every where arraigned the Deity, and endeavoured to bring into disrepute all forms of worship. The destruction of the churches was a necessary consequence of their profanation. It was permitted in some of the districts, and directed in others. Interest became the accomplice of impiety,

and nobody retained the liberty of public worship. To abandon it was necessary in those days of mourning and desolation, in order to avoid proscription.

It was then that an execrable villain, whom an abler villain had destroyed ; it was then that Marat was placed by Robespierre on the altar erected to the supreme Being himself. He was exposed there, along with le Pelletier St. Fargeau. These two monsters made their way into all the sacred edifices---into all the theatres---into all the departments. They were invoked by their colleagues, and derided by that populace of Paris, whose brutal severity no one dared repress. Three months afterwards, they were dragged to the Pantheon, where they may still be seen.

Religion was persecuted with as much virulence as royalty. Their eagerness to destroy both made them despise even necessary precautions. Five men perished before they could erect on the dome of the Invalids that cap which is the bloody emblem of their crimes. In that sacred temple of glory, religion no longer affords con-

solation to those victims of war, who used to die blessing their God and the greatest of their kings. Every thing that served to commemorate royal bounty was mutilated, destroyed, or taken away. One should have thought that the Convention, abashed by the former glory and noble antiquity of France, dreaded even the memorials of history, and the silent reproach of the arts. All the manuscripts were ordered to be burnt, and by a sort of contradiction, which was the offspring of avarice and tyranny, the exportation of all books, even religious ones, was forbidden. It was decreed, that the royal library should be purged, that in each district a revolutionary library should be formed, that a new grammar be printed---and that new books should be prepared for children.

St. Denis, St. Germain, Fontainebleau, Choisy, Brunoy, the royal palaces and towns, castles and burghs, all have changed their names, their masters, and their inhabitants. It was in agitation to name Paris the "City of Equality," the only absurdity which is still wanting to them. The

Republic, extending its dominion over seasons and days, has changed the order of time, almost universally established throughout the world, and carrying into every thing its decimal subdivisions, the simplicity of which the human mind so readily adopts, has commanded that henceforward days should consist of ten hours; hours of 144 minutes; months of 30 days, and years of 360. It instituted five entire days (which it feared but a short time ago never to see dawn) to celebrate their errors and their crimes. It was that man who seemed condemned to the applauses of the modern theatres, that epistolary intriguer, whom a little vain glory and a great deal of gold had seduced; it was Fabre d'Eglantine who thus measured time, and arranged this new calendar, of which he only counted a few moments. This hegira of crime and folly had its birth at one of those revels to which the deputies devote their nights. It was proposed to dedicate the month of May to Venus, and that of September to Bacchus. But in spite of la Harpe and Chenier, the Sans-Culottes prevailed both against these

fair visions, and against that ancient mythology from which we derive our weeks and months---and they gave them names which belong to no language whatever.

The man who is not afraid of experiencing those soft affections which multiply his existence, and who dares form that he which connects him with the future, amidst all the horrors which threaten its termination, this man is obliged to receive from the hands of a municipality which he abhors, the wife from whom it will soon separate him. For divorce has just been disengaged from the formalities with which it was at first attended, and now gives a free course to domestic divisions, and favours all the passions. Thus an unprincipled wretch, may in the course of a year, infest twenty families with his doctrines and his immoralities.

A child comes into the world branded with the stigmas of the Republic; he is inscribed on the "book of life" of this municipality, and loaded with the names of Sans-culottes, Pelletier, Marat, &c. which his parents promise to merit for him, Re-

volutionary schools receive him from the cradle, the Republic claims him in his childhood, he lives weighed down with its chains, and he dies under the pressure of its degrading colours. His disconsolate family are not allowed to follow his corpse, or to invoke over his tomb the god of his forefathers. He is meanly conveyed and deposited in an unhallowed spot, where they have sought to wrest from him even hope itself.

The people regrets in many of the northern provinces, these cruel innovations. In some of the districts which I shall not denounce to the rage of the committees, priests have returned into France martyrs to their faith and zeal. Pursued with an animosity which even its duration could not weaken, they pass the day in forests, and when night arrives to give repose to the world, they come forth from their retreat to exercise, in the surrounding farms, the sacred functions of their ministry. They carry consolation and peace into the hearts of the inhabitants, who do not fear to share their perils

and secure their subsistence. But the infinite number of the agents of the Convention renders it every day more difficult to discharge this sublime duty and indifference to a religion universally persecuted, pervades the country along with the tyranny which pursues it.

This is one of the causes of that discontent which every day must augment. The misery into which the people is plunged is increased by the very succours afforded by the Convention. These are but the price of the efforts exacted for the public defence, and these efforts exhaust them every day more and more. There is no vent whether fortunate or the reverse, on which they do not avail themselves of terror, to extort contributions. Either their conquests are to be secured and extended, or their defeats are to be repaired and revenged. Arms, linen, clothing, food, every thing is demanded, and every thing is given up. The popular societies put in requisition articles exempted by the law; and their proceedings are constantly approved. From six in the evening till ten,

throughout the Republic, the bell rings, and the people collect together in the clubs to hear the decrees, the addresses, and the news. No one dares absent himself, for that would be a symptom of incivism which would cost him his liberty, and soon after his property. From hence emanate those missionaries who daily demand of the Committee of Public Safety, the sums necessary for carrying into execution the enormities they are to commit. From hence are sent those flagrant misstatements of the finances, which fill the reports of the Convention. It is in these clubs that they collect those weapons which are to arm women and children against property. It is here that they daily ask the candidate for an office, or the suspected citizen. Whom have you denounced? Where is the man whom you have put under arrest? Whom is it that you have sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal? What share had you in the tenth of August?

And twelve miscreants suffice to compose one of these societies, or revolutionary committees: 100 to govern a town and a

district ; 6,000 keep Paris in awe ; for I can venture to affirm that the satellites, or to express myself better, the thorough partisans of the Convention in that city are reduced to this number ; 20,000 or 30,000 more are the blind instrument of this confederacy ; necessity and terror operate on the rest. It is from these data that one should calculate the number of the villains who hold the provinces in subjection, and that one may judge of the stupor and supineness into which the country is plunged.

It is time to turn our attention to that corner of France, which will preserve the most glorious name that the revolution has produced. That length of resistance, and that greatness of character which have appeared there in the midst of a nation flying away on all sides, proceeds, no doubt, from causes which merit a particular investigation.

That civil war which began and supported itself like that of Spartacus ; those heroes who threatened Paris and the Convention with the same danger, which that illustrious exile occasioned to Rome and

its senate; that famous Vendee which we must for ever pity and admire, took its rise in a soil the most attached to its priests and its nobility. It excited its peasants to rise against the violation of property and of rights; against oppression and atheism. They marched armed by their courage and made strong by conscience. The projects which they formed strike the mind with astonishment, and those they executed immortalize their misfortunes. It was in the midst of every possible want, and when bereft of every resource, that they endeavoured to restore the empire. It was by intrepidity alone that they possessed themselves of the arms and ammunition which were destined for their destruction. It was by the purity of their motives and the legitimacy of their pretensions, that the chiefs of this crusade enrolled those soldiers and followers, who did not shrink from embarking with them in the most hazardous enterprize and the most fatal glory.

Full of confidence in their leaders the peasantry of Poitou manifested more constancy in the pursuit of victory, than Eu-

rope did in admiring them. The advantages which the Republic sometimes obtained over the Royalists, cost them more blood and treasure than the most signal defeats which their armies experienced on the frontiers. The army of La Vendee evacuated Le Mans, after having killed 13,000 men; La Flèche after having killed 7,000; and their incursion into Normandy cost the lives of 36,000 Republicans. They effected the passage of the Loire, one of the most intricate military operations, on account of the difficulties occasioned by the fluctuation in the bed of the river; and the Convention, by passing a solemn decree for their destruction, only exposed the inefficacy of its efforts and the extent of its apprehensions.

Three generals of the Republic ventured to avow to the Committee of Public Safety, in the month of December, that the war in La Vendee would not be put an end to in two years, and general Danican was not afraid to bring proof of it.

The Royalists have however to contend with nature and with art; with men and

with the national deputies. No country, and no age ever had more atrocious ministers of cruelty. This kingdom so thickly strewn with laurels, was in a short time covered with ashes and ruins. Twenty leagues of country were abandoned to flames; crops, forests, habitations, every thing disappeared, except the cruelty of monsters, and the glory of heroes. Infancy and old age, those two epochas of life every where respected, were proscribed and assassinated. Women were not spared. Above 600 were massacred at Laval, La Flèche, and Sablé. Crimes were then committed of which 50 centuries have not transmitted an example. Women were shot, and expired in giving life and death to their wretched infants, which these cannibals thrust upon bloody swords, and then crushed against their bosoms. The savage fury of the executioners even sought from their victims the gratification of their brutish passions, and they violated those corpses that were reeking under their poignards. A villain named Pierry presided at these executions; another monster

named Santerre ordered them; Phelippeaux recompensed them; and the Convention sanctioned them in its journals. What a list of names to be transmitted to posterity! and what a task will fall to the lot of that historian who ventures to attempt the French revolution, and to recite the details of it to future generations.

Fire, poison, and the swords were employed against the Royalists of La Vendee; to overcome them it was necessary to destroy nature; Nature yielded, yet still they are fighting; the latest posterity will bless their efforts and honour their defeats; the names of Rockejaquelin, of D'elbéc, of Bonchamp, of Lescure, of Charrette, and of Cantineau, henceforward immortal, have nothing to fear from history, that judge forgives only necessary faults, and they scarcely ever committed any; they often gave an example of moderation, and always one of justice.

They threw to the flames those catalogues of laws, or of crimes with which each town was infested; they protected those who were weak and misled, and pu-

nished criminals and traitors. They even ventured to shew mercy, and extending their generosity amidst the dangers of clemency; they forgave satellites and accomplices; they proclaimed their king; they worshipped their God; they appeared the liberators and not the conquerors of their country; they were the hope of the monarchy, and the terror of the Republic.

Let me once more repeat it, La Vendee has been the chief dread of the Convention; it dreads it still; and all France is persuaded that La Vendee alone can affect a counter-revolution. The Committee of Public Safety dreads victorious and upright Frenchmen, to whom those of their countrymen who are miserable and misled, will confide their griefs, their distresses, and their repentance. It fears that its armies and its provincial troops will fight but reluctantly against fellow-citizens, friends and brothers. It dreads those names which are so incorporated into the French monarchy, which shine with the accumulated glory of ages, and which rally by their splendor, followers, and avengers.

Certain neither to obtain, nor to solicit peace or truce, lenity or terms, the heroes of La Vendee will perhaps be doomed to perish in their triumph. They will have astonished the world, and will seem an imputation on that providence which creates and overturns empires. Their total destruction will be deemed by the Convention the most advantageous of its conquests, and it will then imagine that it has no other dangerous enemy to encounter.

It does not however neglect any means which it thinks calculated to inflame the French people against the combined powers. The English government is that against which the Committee of Public Safety has more particularly hurled its weapons---the fury of its members against that generous nation carried them so far, that they quite lost sight even of probability, in the absurd projects and views which they ascribed to it. The most wild harangues were poured forth at the sittings of the Jacobins; discussions were set on foot, in which ignorance and malignity vied with each other. All the societies which are adopted by them

were summoned, in the month of February, to make those discussions the order of the day. There was not an individual who did not think his civism implicated in calumniating a constitution he did not understand, and in ascribing crimes to a people and to ministers, whose virtues and character they were taught to dread. A hundred pamphlets issued in an instant from that den of Jacobins, where Robespierre, for a month together, diverted the public attention from the then critical situation of the frontiers.

It was at this moment that Robespierre had that political illness, that fever of terror, which made him a long while hesitate between power and safety. He deliberated on whether he should abandon the capital to the Commune of Paris and to foreign armies, and, with a certain number of the deputies, seek an asylum in Switzerland. After thirteen days of suspense and fear, he was of opinion that his popularity would support him against that crowd of enemies whom he intended to proscribe, and that

a fresh inundation of recruits would secure him from the approach of the allies.

Meal again appeared in the greatest profusion. The markets of Paris were given up to the people, and its environs were stript of the luxury with which nature had embellished them. The capital saw with a degree of ridicule, which even tyranny cannot suppress, its whole surface covered with potatoes, even the gardens of the Thuilleries, where the Convention sits. Thus only allowing the earth to open its fertile womb to the most indigent classes of society, Robespierre held out to them the promises of those lands, whose proprietors he was daily sending to the scaffold; and at the same time he taught them to consider that absurd armament, which he prepared in all the ports, as the easy means by which they would possess themselves of all that plunder, which was only separated from them by a narrow channel.

The members of the Committee of Public Safety, despairing of being able to infect England with their principles, no longer feared unriddling them compleatly. The

pillage of London was made the order of the day in all the communities of the Republic, and the allurements of the riches it contains was every where made use of to inflame the cupidity of the Sans-Culottes. They were for ever repeating to them that the estates which the Convention were to confer upon them would then only be thoroughly secure ; that the French revolution would then only be confirmed when that constitution (which has been so long the glory of England) was changed into a revolutionary government---when Committees, executions, and requisitions were established there---when they had exterminated London, as Rome had done Carthage.

The Committee of Public Safety then formally swore the destruction of the English nation ; they swore never to relinquish their arms, till they had erected the flag of anarchy upon its ruins. But like the Creator, who extends his beneficence amidst blasphemy and devotion, England undertook, without hesitation, the interests of the world---Her fleets and her armies defend it, and her genius protects it with its wings.

Let us now bring under contemplation those common place topics, with which the secret partisans of the Republic every where endeavour to deceive the people, to shake their fidelity, and undermine their exertions. Let us judge of the views and abilities of that train of declaimers, who every day lavish their arguments and panegyric on the system or the successes of the Committee: What right have we to meddle with the interior government of France? How can their crimes interest us; or what have we to fear from them? To what end is this war, which ruins our commerce and impoverishes our finances? Have we strength sufficient to subdue so powerful an enemy? and ought we not to reserve all our resources, and concentrate all our efforts to defend our own habitations?

Thus is expressed the tender solicitude of those men who speak only of the happiness of the people. Thus does their hypocritical attachment to the country seek every where to divide the opinions and weaken the resources of its true friends--- and it is thus that the Jacobins, in every

country where vigilance and fear obliges them to conceal their designs, demand, without ceasing, in the name of humanity and of policy, that peace which would abandon the globe to all the scourges which ravage France, if the principles of the Convention do not perish with itself.

Do then these men, who pretend such perfect security, though so much within reach of the French revolution, do they forget that that revolution is equally hostile to its partisans and to its enemies? Do they forget that it indiscriminately sacrifices accomplices and adversaries? They do not see it march along, carrying with it the blaze of conflagration, and murdering the proprietors. They do not see it sacking the Belgic provinces, notwithstanding they had with-held from him their strength and treasure, and even for their own defence. They do not see it fomenting insurrections in Italy---deluging Poland in blood---overturning the colonies, and extending its devastation throughout both hemispheres. Let them remember that the conquerors of the Bastile, the assassins of

the 5th of October, the regicides of the 10th of August, are now all groaning under the same chains as the victims of honour and royalty.

The Duke of Orleans, Jourdan, Brissot, and Marat, Bailly and Rabaud, de St. Etienne, have they not fallen under the daggers of their own colleagues? La Fayette and Santerre, were they not imprisoned? are not the constitutionalists given up to oblivion and executioners. Those first apostles of French liberty, those ardent promoters of the revolution, disguised under the names of *Monarchiens*, *Moderés*, *Fuillans*, *Constitutionnels*, sacrificed their honour and their oaths to the people; and all those, whom the vicious mode of convoking the States General made conspicuous, now charge the people with their own work. **M**ad speculators they had taught the people that to them only belonged the exercise of sovereignty: these politicians of a day, these petty statesmen who swarm in the public offices and embarrass the page of history, successively separated themselves from those Jacobins who were their own offspring, and

to whom they had taught every thing but courage; but they are daily dragged to the same scaffold, to which they had brought their king---that king whose calamities they had created and then basely fled from; and if any of these great criminals have escaped that signal justice, one sees them intriguing for the re-establishment of their *royal democracy*, at the expence of the welfare of their country, and the honour of their monarchy; one sees them pretending an anxious solicitude for royalty, and at the same time wishing peace in favour of the Republic.

That Republic now triumphs, but it has in its bosom all the seeds of all kind of divisions. A great misfortune or a long despondency must at last stir up the French people against its tyrants; and it is, at least, probable that the committee could not stand the sudden evacuation of those conquests, which strengthen its power, and lulls the patience of its victims. They will, without doubt, redouble their efforts and their crimes in order to give fresh vigour to the public mind, to excite some strong measure, and strive once more to change the destinies

of the French empire; but it is peace and repose which the French people desire and incessantly invoke. The more the urgency of peace is felt by the Committee of Public Safety, the more they seem to reject all propositions for it. Their violent declamations for war should not however impose on any one; every day the representatives and commissaries contradict them in their missions. Two representatives of the people had secret instructions, decisive on the subject, confided to them in the month of April by the Committee of Public Safety, and they said throughout the country, to those unfortunate wretches whom they deprived of their children and their subsistence, "take patience, the war will be put an end to this year, and then you will enjoy abundance and unmolested property.

The French Republic, or rather the most arbitrary despotism that ever existed, in vain attempts to gild its crimes with its successes: the exhausted state of the provinces, their capital, and their despondency, must necessarily augment in the midst of their triumphs; and the continuance of the exe-

cutions is an incontestible proof of it. Pillage consumes much more than it supplies; and if one considers the enormous waste which necessarily takes place in armies, and under a revolutionary system, one must be convinced that the most productive plunder cannot alleviate the distresses of the people; that abundance confined to the camps, leaves the country a prey to want and misery, and that all those civic feasts, that display of magnificence, shew, and novelty, with which they endeavour to impose upon the capital, may for a time prevent their murmurs being heard, but cannot stifle them if war is continually to extort from them fresh sacrifices.

The Committee of Public Safety seeks also to open to the prudence and wisdom of the coalesced powers, an activity of which it hitherto seems to have possessed the sole secret. It flatters itself that fortified places, military government, and religious principles will be but insufficient barriers against the French revolution. That rivers, mountains, the channel, or twenty degrees of latitude may retard, but cannot put a stop to

its progress; that it has not a more powerful ally than itself, and that its duration must finally extend its ravages and its domination.

But the ministers who direct the principal cabinets of Europe, are aware that the causes which overturn states point out at the same time the means of their preservation; they know that victories only beget misfortunes, unless followed up with that indefatigable activity, which is ever the most dangerous enemy of the factious. The ministers of the coalesced powers have never despised the French nation, in spite of the impositions of their tyrants, who are always spreading that opinion, hoping to rouse them against such a humiliation, and to find in their pride fresh resource to support their sway.

They are persuaded that the French themselves will sooner or later inflict justice on that committee, and on that convention which is covered with their blood; and they are convinced that they must either exterminate Jacobinism in France, or be prepared to obey it throughout the globe.

All these governments are fully convinced of these important truths, and every day confirms them. After having, so long, hoped to recall a great nation to the exercise of its duties and its virtues, by the sense of its calamities and of its errors, they see that they must at length advance on every side against those assassins who govern all its actions, and hold its will in chains.

For I dare affirm that the majority of Paris, and almost the whole of France, have the greatest horror for the principles and members of the Convention; that the despotism which is every day more galling to the country, every day induces more of its miserable inhabitants to renounce that absurd constitution of 1789, with which they were so long intoxicated; and that there is not a single province which would not, at this moment, eagerly embrace that antient form of government, which (in spite of the abuses unavoidable in great states) has been already often and loudly demanded even in Paris itself.

And it is however in the midst of this universal hatred against a handful of villains,

and in the union of every wish for their destruction and punishment, that Europe is threatened with the most imminent dangers. But the energy and firmness of the allied powers are going to add new vigour to their operations; they are certain that all individual interests will give way to the important one of general preservation; and they seem resolved to grant neither peace, nor truce, to the French Republic; because, from the same moment, there would no longer exist either truce or peace between the different governments of Europe and the people belonging to them, or between private property and plunder, or between right and proscription.

It is about these vigorous resolutions, which the allied powers have lately declared that all classes of society ought in the present moment to rally their efforts. It is against you, rich and industrious men of all countries; it is against you, peaceable cultivators of the lands which have been transmitted to you by your ancestors; it is against all of you that the French revolution is advancing. If you do not combat it

to-day with all the means in your power, to-morrow it will demand of you both your property and lives. Banish far from you those poisonous principles of "the majesty of the people," which the convention is offering to the dregs of every nation; reject those ideas of peace, the soothing sweetness of which is presented to you without intermission by its partisans and accomplices. They would only grant it to you for a short time, and that because they fear your courage and wish to frustrate its efforts; and because they wish to break in pieces, under the bloody car of their Republic, your governments and constitutions, and even to exterminate from you those virtues which they have not been able to corrupt. If you will not fight against the Jacobins and Convention, go then and read your doom in those bloody pages of that revolutionary tribunal, which has not yet spared a single fortune, a single virtue, or the smallest remorse.

The question is not whether this or that form of government is more proper for an empire; it is whether we will rescue a whole

empire from a tyranny the longest and most execrable to which mankind has ever yet fallen a victim; it is whether Europe shall retain any importance on the globe, and the social orders be preserved in it.

THE POSTSCRIPT.

THIS pamphlet had been many days at the press, when the news arrived of the revolution that had burst forth in the bosom of the National Convention. As its effects must extend to every thing that belonged to the Dictator, and as France will be purged of a part of his accomplices; it is proper for me to make it known that the project, which has been lately executed, was formed in the month of April last, and that Bentabolle is the author of it. The death of his intimate friend Hérault de Séchelles, that of Danton, and that of the intrepid Camille Des Moulins, made both Bentabolle and the rest of their colleagues tremble for their own existence.

Notwithstanding the great influence which Bentabolle constantly possessed among the Jacobins, and the full confidence he had in his own undaunted breast; yet he was sensible of the insufficiency of his means to ac-

comply with his purpose, and judged it necessary to retire from Paris in the month of September last. To save his head from the proscriptions, in the month of January, he solicited a new mission into the department of La Sarthe. He returned to the Convention in the month of March, having married a widow, whose birth and fortune added to his fears. Animated by revenge, fear, and pride, he resolved to stab Robespierre, rather than obey him as his colleague. "Royalty never makes me afraid; I will obey, if it be necessary, a person who is born to command; but I will never live in subjection to my equal." Such were the words pronounced by that representative of the people; and I can affirm that such is the way of thinking in many of his colleagues.

Bentabolle communicated his project to Collot D'Herbois, and Vadier; the former of whom had been his friend for a considerable time, and the latter became so on the destruction of the party of Brissot. The three conspirators united Tallien to their fate; and it was even in the bosom of the

Convention, and under the very eyes of those tribunes who trembled at the voice of Roberspierre, that they resolved to sacrifice the tyrant, if they had found the Assembly too weak to condemn him.

It appears that Barrere was not entrusted with the secret of the dangers which threatened the Dictator, whose vile agent he was, before the last moment. Barrere, whose most formidable weapon is baseness in denouncing victims and pliancy of temper in danger, discovered in those difficult circumstances a fear so emboldening, that he changed his language, his conduct, and party, with a promptitude, so perfidious and remarkable, as to escape being involved in the sentence of death that was pronounced against the villain whose crimes he served : but the time of his punishment will not be long delayed.

That power, without a name, which Roberspierre had usurped ; that power, the greatest perhaps that any man ever exercised, is at last destroyed. The fall of that villain would certainly have been attended with important consequences, if the most

disastrous events had not driven the belligerent powers far from the frontiers of France. I do not now hesitate to declare, that it is in representing the capital punishment of a deputy as a matter of no consequence, in respect to the safety of the Convention ; it is in attributing to him a still greater degree of influence than what he really possesses ; it is in calling the French army his army, and the French people his subjects, that one is certain of weakening the authority of a deputy that has never appeared in the camps but by his couriers or generals, and that one is sure to prepare the scaffold for him. An enormous degree of power in a revolution always falls upon the head of the individual, who exercises it without daring to avow it.

The whole Convention was so cowardly, that no less a time than three months was necessary to prepare the fall of Robespierre. It was with all the symptoms of fear ; it was in deriving courage from their numbers, and boldness from their terrors that each deputy gave his faltering voice

to put him to death. The representatives of the people advanced step by step in the paths of the four conspirators, and it required all that danger, with which they were all of them equally threatened, to unite them against the tyger, which none of them dared to attack separately.

The conduct of the Convention and Sections of Paris, in that event, exhibit two great truths. The one of them is, that the members of the Assembly, as cruel as they are cowardly, and far less formidable than what they are in appearance, are all of them equally detested by the people ; and that if the people applaud their decrees to-day, to-morrow they would applaud with transport their deliverers, who should enter the capital in triumph ; the other is, that the allied powers ought to be convinced there never will exist in France, before the extirpation of the Convention, any authority, sufficiently strong and independent of the spirit of the revolution, to dare to sign a treaty, or return to a sense of duty.

Robespierre and St. Just have perished ; but it ought not to be forgotten, that all the heads of the Hydra were equally venomous. In regretting that the late bloody scenes have had but little influence on the general fate of Europe, we shall be convinced that it is necessary to advance from all parts of the globe against an Assembly, in which new villains spring up as fast as others are put to death ; that it is necessary to advance against a mass of crimes, round which the Sections of Paris and the Communes of the Republic will rally, till the approach of foreign protection shall permit them to direct their arms against their murderers.

It will require, perhaps, three months for an able villain to collect together the broken remains of a tyrant, who had been his master, and to assume his place ; and it is a difficult matter to name the man who will dare to attempt it. To kill a tyrant is an easy task ; but to succeed him is by no means so. It will require rivers of blood, and perhaps even much dissembled clemency, to support the new position in which the Committee of Public Safety is placed

by the death of Robespierre. The armies, the administrations, and the popular societies "will be purified;" and as the perpetration of crimes gained admittance into them, it will be necessary to commit new ones to prevent exclusion from them. "The French liberty" is going to be loaded with fresh oaths, and to be surrounded with all the eyes of extreme jealousy. The executioners are going to extend their blows even to those victims that Robespierre had plunged into the prisons; for the name of that monster will become a new source of accusation against those who groan in them. That base and sanguinary man, called Tallien, is absolutely destitute of all those great talents, which a revolution requires in its accomplices; but he possesses those qualities, which in the present days produce in France a thirst for blood, the massacres of the second of September, and the horrid pillages committed in the Commune of Paris and city of Bourdeaux. Billaud, Varennes, and le Gendre present to our view the same cruel tempers, and with as few personal qualifications. Collot D'Herbois

and Bourdon de l'Oise possess no other resources. Sevestre and Delmas are now the two most dangerous men that the Convention contains ; and it is probable that in a short time their cunning, their talents, and their villainy will obtain for them a great degree of influence.

Whatever be the new names that are about to blaze forth, whatever be the acts of moderation and justice, which ought to strengthen the first dawn of the new reign of the Committee of Public Safety, it is certain that none of its members will be distinguished for any thing but the commission of crimes. For it is no more in their power, than it is in their inclination, to be just, virtuous, and merciful : They will tread in the steps of Robespierre, till they meet with the same fate ; the revolutionary government will be supported as long as the war continues, and the executioners will stain France with blood till the allied powers approach the capital, or an excess of despair produces a great and general insurrection of people.

N O T E S.

Note 1, page 7.

THERE are whole towns in which, at this day, not one hundred firelocks are to be found; and, notwithstanding the immense exertions of the workmen, throughout the whole extent of the republic, I can affirm, that upwards of one hundred thousand of those men, who have been put in a state of requisition, are yet unarmed; and this prevents their being dragged to the frontiers. The Committee of Public Safety has contracted for 40,000 fire-locks in the north, and empowered their agents to pay as high as 120 livres each, in specie, when delivered in any port of France. They have also contracted for 35,000 in New England, at 160 livres each.

Note 2, page 9.

The population of each section in Paris is from 13 to 14 thousand souls; and the whole number of inhabitants in that capital, according to a general survey made in the month of March last, amounts to 683,461. This result ought not to appear surprizing, even allowing for the great numbers which have emigrated within the last five years; which were all who could afford to do so: for round the Convention, from all parts of the country, the vile and wretched swarm.

Note 3, page 11.

I saw about 10,000 men of the first requisition in Brittany pass through Normandy, in the beginning of May, without shoes, half naked, and armed only with clubs. It has been

proved to a certainty, that whole bodies of men, thus put in requisition, quitted their homes in nearly the same condition.

Note 4, page 13.

It is not unusual for a general officer, whether appointed to the command of a brigade, a division, or a whole army, to employ the eight days allowed him upon his appointment in getting his shirts and clothes made. They receive considerable advances on their pay, which is from 4000 up to 18,000 livres a month. Such was the pay allowed both to Santerre and Rossignol in la Vendée. Many of the generals put in requisition, table-linen, meat, wine, in short, every thing they want, and never pay for them.

Note 5, page 26.

The convention greatly abuses even the word *requisition*. *It must be given out that we have four millions of men ready to fly to the frontiers*, said Barriere to Collot d'Herbois; *we must hold up to the eyes of Europe one entire general levy of the whole 85 departments, ready to fall upon her the moment we give the word of command. No matter for the impossibility; keep up their fears, and you will gain your object.*

Note 6, page 30.

A number of beggars, together with the wives and children of volunteers, whose clamours are loud, and whom it would be useless, perhaps dangerous, to punish, are constantly employed at Paris in raising those ridiculous fortifications which surround the town. These people, when at work, have been often heard to say: *When the Austrians come, how they will laugh at these redoubts and these ditches without water: well, but we will laugh too, and then all will be well.* I assert this to be fact, having been told by the assistant director-general of the works, that he has repeatedly heard them say these very words.

Certainly, says Cambon every day, *a man to whom the republic owes 500,000 livres is a dangerous man: his industry is itself a plot against the revolution; for by working the destruction of the finances of the republic he is working the destruction of the republic itself.* Reasoning thus logically, and having executioners for pay-masters, it is easy to conceive that the Abbé D'Espagnac was the greatest counter-revolutionist in the country; for the republic owed him 143,000,000 livres. He had, however, been extremely serviceable to the Convention; he had arranged the carriage-service of the armies, and supplied them with no less than 32,000 horses and 7500 waggons. The republic allowed for each horse 4 liv. 5 sols a day; and for every one that died 650 livres. The public accuser of the revolutionary tribunal liquidated all the debts due to M. d'Espagnac in one word: Scarce a week passes but the head of some contractor, or director of public works, is cut off.

Note 7, page 41.

When Dunkirk was besieged, the Convention allowed Calais only 3000 weight of gunpowder. In the month of March last only 14,000 could be sent to Cambray, and 39,000 to Strasburg, Metz, and Thionville. One day they promise 2000 firelocks to a fortified town, and usually, about a month after, 4— or 500 are sent.

Note 8, page 34.

Versailles contained, in the month of January, only 28,000 inhabitants, suffering extreme want, and sorely repenting them of their many unprofitable crimes. The park, heretofore the ornament of the country, and the splendid mansion of Royalty, has been deserted, and given up to those repentant wretches: about this time hopes were given to the inhabitants, that twelve committees of the Convention would be established in their town: and Barrere had the audacity to assure those that there were in his confidence, that the castle of Versailles would

soon be the palace of the *Executive Council of the Republic*; and accordingly he procured an order for putting it in repair. This man, who has disgraced even the glory of the country in his frequent reports to the Convention, entertained the daring project of taking up his abode in the palace of the kings of France.

Note 9, page 37.

In many districts of Picardy and Normandy, it has been said every day, and that quite publicly, *we must purchase those estates of the emigrants, which we now hold without having paid for them: we shall be obliged, some time or other to restore them; for in fact it must be acknowledged that they are the property of their children or heirs: in the mean while it is much better that we should have the benefit of them, than that they should be left in the hands of trustees, who are squandering them away.*

Note 10, page 37.

If it be asked what the French Republic last year supposed her revenue to be; or, in other words, what was the produce of her multiplied exactions and robberies, it may be answered that the land-tax was fixed at 300,000,000 of livres; and the tax upon personal property at 60,000,000; and that the augmentation upon these taxes amounted to 145,000,000: (for an unprivileged estate which was, five years ago, subjected to an imposition of 100 livres, is now liable to pay 225; and an artisan, or a lodger, who formerly paid in Paris, and other considerable towns, a capitation tax, or, it might be called, a tax upon his industry, of 50 livres, is now liable to the payment of three times that sum) that the stamp-duties, the tax upon registering, and the customs, produced 113,000,000; and that the national estates brought in 206,000,000. The total of these different sums amounts to nearly 830,000,000.

If it be asked what sum the French Republic will extort this year from her wretched slaves, we have only to add to the

830,000,000, 391,000,000, the actual produce of a forced loan, decreed in the month of September last; and about 40,000,000 more, the supposed amount of the rents of those estates which the Convention has got possession of by murdering the proprietors of them since the 1st of April last.

Note 11, page 39.

Perhaps the human heart never gave a more consolatory proof of that hope which continues in it while it exists, than the one which I am going to mention. A gentleman eminently distinguished by many other good qualities, as well as by an incorruptible attachment to his sovereign, being thrown into one of the 65 prisons of Paris, found there a young lady whose virtue and noble birth were her only crimes. An union between them, all circumstances being highly suitable, was resolved upon, and approved of by their relations, prisoners with them, and a priest, condemned to death for his faithful adherence to his holy vows, solemnized the marriage: the presents usually given upon such occasions were prepared, and a jeweller of Paris furnished them with diamonds to the amount of 28,000 livres: I suppress their names, for they have not yet had the good fortune either to escape from prison or to die.

Note 12, page 40.

A national bankruptcy is now looked upon, in France, as a thing so certainly to happen, that every individual, even in the lowest classes of society, are thoroughly satisfied of its being inevitable: they so clearly perceive its daily approaches, that I scruple not to affirm, that whoever shall pronounce that word (which formerly so effectually helped on the revolution) will not now alarm any body, neither would it produce any thing like disaffection to the existing government: Bankruptcy would be readily and even thankfully received by numbers, as it would ensure them safety and tranquillity: there is not a man in France who would not willingly give up three parts of his for-

une to be sure of possessing the fourth in quietness and security. I can also take upon me to assert, that, if we except a few of the agents of the Committee of Public Safety, by far the greater part of those who have purchased the national estates, and even those who have purchased the lands of the clergy, would gladly relinquish them, if by so doing they could procure for themselves immunity and peace. What with advantageous bargains in the first instance, and the waste they have been since able to commit, the greater number of these purchasers have already reimbursed themselves the sums originally expended. Many of these purchasers are either in prison, or threatened with imprisonment; for there is as much danger in possessing a national estate, as there is in inheriting a private one. The people throughout several intire provinces, groaning under the weight of impositions and requisitions, have fully manifested how deeply they regret the times when they were subject to the payment of tythes and land-tax, and to the burden of feudal duties: but a very small portion of the national estates has fallen to their lot; and they anxiously wish to be again tenants to those opulent landlords whose vices and whose virtues equally contributed to their subsistence. I have not seen a single merchant, labourer, or artizan, who was not of this opinion.

Note 13, page 44.

The Committee of Public Safety made three different attempts upon the prisons of Paris. The object of the first was, to put to death those of Brissot's party who were confined there, and whom they were afraid to bring to trial; the 10th of August 1793 was the day fixed for this general massacre. Money was distributed, and liquor, in plenty: but the federalists declared that they were not come to Paris to cut throats; and 900 of them, among whom were all the federalists of Brittany, left Paris, carrying off with them 300 livres each, which they had received from the committee. Thirty-seven of the

sections of Paris watched over the prisons for seven days, and declared their intentions of defending them against the villains.

In the month of December last, it was determined to force the prisons, in order to murder the 65 deputies, who were then confined there. The sections resisted this attempt also with equal courage. In the month of April last the Committee of Public Safety again renewed their horrid attempt, and were again opposed by the majority of the sections.

Note 14, page 45.

It is infinitely difficult, out of France, to form any idea of the base and savage manner in which the juries of the Committee of Public Safety insult the prisoners who are brought before them. The revolutionary tribunal of Arras has risen above them all, by a conduct atrocious in a degree hitherto unknown. These juries, consisting of the lowest of the people, collected in dram-shops and brothels, are not satisfied with passing sentence of death upon their prisoners, which is made public the next day, but they add to their cruelty derision and insult.

For about four months past, the prisoners have been cut off from all intercourse with mankind; they are treated in the most barbarous manner; although their food consists of the vilest and coarsest aliments that can be found, yet even that wretched fare is threatened to be taken from them; they are visited by Commissaries of the Committee of Public Safety; and their victuals are thrown to them through a hole, which is immediately closed. Several women, advanced in their pregnancy, perished for want of the assistance necessary in their situation in the prison of the English nuns, in the street Fossés St. Victoire, in the Luxembourg, and in the Barracks of the Grand Carmes. *It will be much trouble saved to the hangman*, said Billaud-Varenes, when he was asked for permission to introduce a physician to visit the prisoners. No less than forty persons were shut up in one room. Many petitioned the Com-

mittee of Public Safety, and the public accuser of the revolutionary tribunal, to be sent to the scaffold. At the bottom of one of these petitions, presented by a lady Couthon wrote, *Citizen, you have not yet been long enough desirous of dying.*

Note 15, page 46.

Collot d'Herbois, Phelippeaux, Guffroy, and Tallien, have often urged their amorous suits to women by shewing them a warrant for their commitment to prison. Collot d'Herbois took advantage of the fears of a girl only 16 years of age, and then gave her up to the gaoler of St. Pelagie. Grommont, general, second in command of the revolutionary army of Paris, had the audacity to write a letter to a most respectable lady which concluded with these words; *You must this day choose your fate: either you must be divorced from your aristocrat or die.* Billaud-Varemes sent an order to take up his own father, and carry him before the revolutionary tribunal at Paris; he was an obscure lawyer in the town of Rochelle, but of irreproachable character, and much esteemed: the parricide was not completed: the old man sunk under the grief of being the father of such a monster, and was dead.

Note 16, page 48.

All the bankers and exchange-brokers of Paris were summoned in the months of October and November last; they were ordered to deliver up to Cambon's Committee all the drafts and bills of exchange which they had upon foreigners, and were paid the amount in assignats, taking the exchange at par. This robbery produced only 270,000l. sterling, and about 600,000 florins. All the merchants were required to deliver up their books of accounts to Cambon's Commissioners, who found every where guilt in abundance, and plenty of victims.

Even to the last moment, the prisoners have been compelled to pay the taxes charged on their estates, although the estates

themselves were under sequestration for the benefit of the nation; and no person could be found who dared acknowledge that he was entrusted with the management of the prisoner's property. *They will find money, said Amarand Guffroy, or they will tell you where they have buried it. When a man wants to get out of prison he becomes an excellent citizen, he borrows.* This is making sport with daggers.

Note 17, page 49.

A calculation has been made in the national printing-house at Paris, from which it appears that 1150 reams of paper were daily used in that city alone; this has raised it to five times the former price, notwithstanding the *maximum*. Every decree costs 83,000 livres; on the 1st April last the three assemblies had published 6800 decrees

Note 18, page 49.

Dagomé, commissary and national agent for the district of Louviers, extorted from several country retailers no less than 30,000 livres; this he did by purchasing goods from them at a higher price than that fixed by the *maximum*, and then taking advantage of their fears, and his own power. A person of the name of Ross, constitutional curate of Gaillon, in the same district, plundered several people to the amount of 10,000 liv. in the name of Robespierre, having before that defrauded others of 15,000 in the name of La Croix: and all this by the aid of that formidable engine the *maximum*. Lindet, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, extorted, by the same means, 45,000 livres from a manufacturer of Elbæuf, for procuring him his discharge from prison.

Note 19, page 50.

Although in the month of May last a louis d'or cost only 50 or 55 livres in assignats, yet it will be a great mistake to estimate the real value of goods according to this supposed differ-

ence of value between the gold which pays for them, and the paper which robs them. When once trade has conceived a distrust of paper money, it will be long before it can be brought again to give it that credit which it had at first; and goods will continue for some time to be sold at the price they had got up to when assignats were of almost no value: hence it follows that those articles included in the laws of the *maximum*, as well as those which it has left untouched, sell at an exorbitant price. The cloth of Peignon, for example, which in the year 1790, was sold for 45 or 48 livres the ell, now sells for 150, and even 160 livres. Shoes sell from 25 to 30 livres the pair, notwithstanding that all the shoe-makers in the kingdom are obliged to furnish ten pair every ten days, to the different revolutionary committees at 6 livres 10 sols the pair. The price of all the necessaries of life must unavoidably go on encreasing in France as long as the war lasts, both on account of the enormous quantity of assignats which they are obliged daily to issue, and the vast consumption it causes.

A private person pays for a day's work of any kind 3 livres; the Republic pays 5 livres. In the month of April butchers' meat cost from 35 to 38 sols the pound at Paris; it could be had, at the same time, in Normandy for 24; and it could be easily had there for that price, because that province, as well as a great part of Picardy, have constantly refused sending any to Paris. These two provinces have, more effectually than any others in France eluded the operation of the law of the *maximum*.

Note 20 and 21, page 51.

The Committees of Public Safety, and General Surety, have sold more certificates of residence than they have made laws. Without going as far back as Osselin, Chabot Fabre, &c. who openly carried on the trade, I will only mention that Guffroy (who is besides writer of a paper called Rougiff) Paris, Amar, Sergent, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, &c. sell their *signatures*

even upon the most trivial occasions : that the two last have shared with Barrere 23,000 livres in ready money, besides plate to the amount of 37,000 livres, which they took from the marchioness of Caysol d'Amboise ; that Barrere demanded, and was paid, 325,000 livres by an emigrant, to refrain from prosecuting him for his emigration ; that he was in treaty with the Abbé de la Tremouille for the purchase of his family estate ; and that he had engaged to take off the sequestration from all his estates for the sum of 900,000 livres ; that he received from M. Chaudot, a notary in the street of la Platiere in Paris, 90,000 livres for procuring the sentence of death, passed on him by the revolutionary tribunal, to be annulled ; which, however, was not done. Tallien sold 57 passports at Bourdeaux : and it has been proved that he received in that city not less than 1,800,000 livres.

What signifies it to us whether the person accused be innocent or no ? is the daily reply of the Committees of the Convention to their agents who appear before them to solicit the enlargement of prisoners. He is rich ; then he is guilty. To obey, requires neither a great name nor a large fortune ; and whoever has not had the good fortune to be born of a SANS-CULOTTE family, must needs have no small portion of address, or he will surely be dragged before the revolutionary tribunal. These were the very words of Amar and Guffroy.

They calculate coolly, in the Committee, the sum which an intended murder is likely to produce. Thus Cambon, speaking of the account which he had received relative to the 133 merchants who were transported from Nantes to Paris, declared publicly that they were worth 624,000,000. Twenty-nine of these victims perished within three days : the general opinion is, that, immediately upon being lodged in the prisons of Paris, they were poisoned. The fortune of an individual is the exact scale of his danger ; for every one, upon being taken up, is required to give an exact account of his property, together with a detail of his political conduct since the 4th of May 1789.

When a man has made this declaration, whether it be true or false, it is no easy matter for him to escape. The widow and children of a man thus condemned are reduced to the lowest extreme of misery ; for whenever an innocent person is condemned, the Committee of Public Safety take care to confiscate all the property of the family.

Note 22, page 53.

The Committee of Public Safety sent commissioners three times to St. Denis. The inhabitants of the town found means to prevent the opening of the vaults until the month of December ; then they broke to pieces all the statues of the kings and queens of France, and all the monuments of the princes of the two first races were destroyed. The tombs were torn open, the coffins melted, the bones either burnt, or thrown in heaps along with those of the vilest animals. Turenne was exposed to the sight of the deputies of the Convention ; and all the villains, down even to Pelletier de St. Fargeau, laid their sacrilegious hands upon the remains of that great man. It is impossible to form to one's self any idea of the savage barbarity with which these wretches descended into the tombs, and the horrid manner in which they emptied the vaults of the church of St. Denis.

The monuments of Louis XII. Francis I. and Turenne, were spared : possibly their evil genius started back, dazzled with the beauty of those inimitable works of art : the remains of the BOURBONS escaped the fury of the commissioners, and a faithful servant was so fortunate as to be able to commit an honourable fraud : he carried them off, and laid them in an unknown sepulchre.

Note 23, page 55.

I said that it was universally believed that Marat had been poisoned by Robespierre, and that there are the strongest grounds for believing that it was at Robespierre's instigation that he was stabbed by Charlotte Corday : her dying words were, *Vive*

la Republique: her depositions, and all the circumstances that could be collected during the seven days which elapsed between her arrival in Paris and her execution, leave not the smallest doubt of the enthusiastic principles of this victim of liberty.

Perhaps this may be the proper place to observe that I have not endeavoured to slander the Jacobins; indeed the attempt were impossible. For six continued years have they gone on in the commission of the most horrid crimes with the vilest baseness and the most atrocious barbarity. I am more than ever persuaded, that the uninterrupted success which has attended all their plans has been owing not so much to the greatness of their means, and the superiority of their talents, as to their unremitting perseverance in their enormities, and that innumerable host of emissaries who, in every country of the world, avail themselves, with wonderful adroitness, of every occurrence, even the minutest which they can lay hold of. The very mob of Paris have all the contempt of the deputies for the Convention which is so justly due to them; they can be no otherwise misrepresented than by ascribing to them some portion of virtue, or some emotions of remorse.

Note 24, page 55.

The mob of Paris loudly condemned Marat and Pelletiere de St. Fargeau: and the very day of their inauguration, the porters and fishwomen indulged themselves with making very apt comparisons, delivered in very energetic terms. All the elegant sculptures which adorned the pantheon have been taken away; as indeed every thing that could bring to the mind any recollection of religion. That noblest of religious edifices is now appropriated to the vilest of the human species.

Note 25, page 56.

The names of almost all the squares and streets of Paris have been changed, and most of the communities have assumed new names of their own choosing, one that of *Brutus*, another *Marat*,

Matius Scævola, Sans Culottide, &c. Indeed crimes, hitherto unknown, required other names, as well as other times.

Note 26, page 58.

It is with great difficulty that the people of Paris can be reconciled to these monstrous changes: they turn into ridicule, quite publicly, the new names of *Germinal, Decade, Primidi*. In the country, the *Republican Almanack*, requires to be well watched: not a Sunday passes but some of the unhappy peasants are sent to prison, for no other crime, than that of being better dressed than they were on the week days.

Note 27, page 59.

On the burying ground in Paris, and many districts of the Republic, this inscription has been put up:

HERE SLEEP IS ETERNAL.

It is not unusual to plant a poplar upon the grave, just closed up, hung with colours, emblematical of the crimes produced by the revolution.

Note 28, page 60.

The streets of Paris swarm with beggars, who infest all the avenues of the place where the Convention sits. These fellows in rags frequently mingle with legislators, and make the vaults of the *Thuilleries* ring with their howlings. After a refusal, persisted in only for a month, they obtained a decree, ordering that all goods pledged at the *Mont-de-piété*, not exceeding the value of 50 livres, should be immediately restored to them, without payment. The many laws which have been made to abolish the trade of begging in Paris, serve only to prove the impossibility of effecting their object, and the increasing number of those who follow that occupation. In the month of January the community was obliged to furnish each of these wretc

with a bed, and the means of subsistence . their number amounted to above 77,000.

Note 29, page 60.

Ashes, old leather, and linen rags, have been put in a state of requisition; and it may be truly said, that there is not at this day an individual in all France, who has any actual property, even in the smallest article he carries about with him.

Note 30, page 62.

In no part of France is the Convention held in greater abhorrence than in Paris. Whenever a deputy is carried to execution, the people are heard to cry, even in the very court of the Thuilleries, *We shall have the satisfaction of seeing them all go there in their turns.*

Five hundred men, resolute to conquer or die, might readily dissolve the Convention, and render themselves masters of a capital filled with conquerors, heroes, and murderers.

Note 31 and 32, page 65 and 66.

These facts have been acknowledged by one Pierry, aide-de-camp to Santerre. This man denied none of the horrible crimes committed in la Vendée, not even the 300 pounds weight of poison, sent there by the Committee of Safety to poison the wine and the wells: and they have been confirmed by Francis la Primaudiere, deputy of Sablé to the National Convention, who was sent commissary to the departments of la Sarthe, Mayenne, and Loire.

Note 33, page 67.

The Convention shewed what fear the name of Tremouille was capable of exciting in la Vendée, and had recourse to every method they could devise to prevent the effects of it. They caused it to be reported that he had assumed the title of king of Maine and Poitou: then they spread a rumour of his death;

and lastly, they ordered that he should be brought to Paris, and executed in the place de la Revolution. *It is chiefly the people of Paris that we must undeceive*, said Primaudiere and Sevestre deputies of Rennes (a most dangerous man, possessing considerable talents, added to great cunning and great courage) *those men whose very names carry with them authority, must be shewn to them on the scaffold, we must teach them to consider the Royalists of la Vendée as scoundrels, otherwise we shall never be able to make them fight them.*

Note 34, page 69.

Even Pelletier St. Fargeau, the murderer of his own family, the confidential friend of Robespierre, whose portrait he always carried in his bosom, the coward who ran away on the 1st of May, 1792, and who yet bragged that he would bring the Jacobins the skull of the major of the regiment of dragoons de la Tour, and that he would drink out of it the blood of the last of the French nobles; even this wretch has taken upon himself to revile the English constitution: 24 hours were sufficient for him to study, to translate, and to villify it; never were wickedness and folly more compleatly united than in this wretch.

Note 35, page 70.

Whoever is acquainted with the cowardly tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety, will easily understand their victories and their terrors; every moment produces fresh samples of contradictory proceedings. They make laws and repeal them; vote a thing this moment and rescind their vote the next; they tremble and they cut throats. Sunk in debauchery, loaded with the contempt of the people, in a moment of success they are puffed up with the most intolerable pride; on the slightest reverse, they betray a sneaking cowardliness, almost impossible to be conceived. At three different periods they imagined themselves quite undone; they were upon the points

of quitting Paris in the month of September, 1792, of retiring into the country of Bourdeaux, in August, 1793, to disperse themselves in the country Venaissin; and in the month of March last, of running away into Switzerland.

The members of the Committee of Public Safety know very well that the people by whom they are now applauded and supported, hold them in abhorrence, and that if the allied armies were to advance, they would forsake them in a moment. They know, that if a victorious army were once in sight of Paris, the cry would be *perish the deputies*. Barrere has been heard to say these very words, nor was Robespierre less afraid.

Note 36, Page 70.

There is not a court yard or garden in the whole city but the people have planted with vegetables; even the walks in the garden of the Thuilleries have been planted with potatoes; the grass plots and gardens in the English style, have been every where destroyed with eagerness, for that style of embellishment is considered as indicating a counter revolutionary disposition.

Note 37, page 71.

In several of the sections of Paris, and communities in the neighbourhood, computations have been made of the number of vessels on the river Thames; of the gold, silver, iron, and other valuable effects in London: and that city has been promised to be given up to be pillaged at discretion by the *Sans Culottes*.

Note 38, page 79.

There passes not a day in which the people are not heard to say openly in the streets, *but all these exactions do not give us a morsel of bread. We were infinitely happier under the old govern-*

ment, against which there is now such an out-cry. There were indeed abuses, but we could live, and we had quiet, &c.

When Chaudron Rousseau, deputy of la Haute Marne, heard people talking this language, he said, *I have heard much more both at Paris and in my missions; and if the Committee of Public Safety were to send all those to the scaffold who talk in this style, they would never have done.*

F I N I S.

